1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927) 1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

reason. Orange juice is bad because it keeps the teeth from coming out. Honey is hard on the stomachs of adults as well as children.

Children may be bathed once a week, but generally at about noon. They are wrapped in blankets like newborn infants and are then rubbed with alcohol "to make them warm."[1]

Children spend their time largely in or near the home, with the other members of the family. There is little organized play among groups of children. Games are few and simple: kites, hobbyhorses, balls. Boys early share in the simple tasks around the house, and girls, when yet very small, are instructed how to make *tortillas* and how to grind maize. Children enter as soon as possible into adult interests and occupations.[2] Confirmation takes place at about eight years.

It is generally recognized that people marry younger in the village of San Andres than in Tepoztlán and in the other hamlets. In San Andres girls marry as young as twelve, and boys when they are fourteen or fifteen. In Tepoztlán they marry at seventeen and nineteen, or later—"a few even as late as thirty." If the husband is already economically independent, he may bring his wife to a house and house site of his own. Very commonly, however, he has not yet secured his patrimony, and the newly married couple live with the bridegroom's parents or surviving par-

[1] There is probably occasional, but rare, artificial limitation of families. The principal informant said: "I like to bear children. There are some here who do not—who do not have children. I do not know how that is. But there are *curanderas* who know. They fix them [*descomponen*] with medicine. But that isn't good. God intended to punish us by having children. It is a mortal sin not to have them."

[2] No information was obtained on sex instruction or early sex experience.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

from his father. A man who fathers children with many women is placed under no social pressure to support his offspring or to marry the mother of any of them. Even in the case of a daughter's elopement, an act made worse by its rebellious flouting of parental authority, forgiveness is usually forthcoming after a lapse of time.

Sexuality is discouraged from childhood on; sex is a taboo subject within the home. Infant sexuality, masturbation, and sexual play among children, as well as curiosity concerning the bodily functions, is forbidden and punished. It is one of the more important obligations of the parent to keep their children "innocent," or, as they say, "to keep their eyes from being opened." The separation of the sexes for work and play begins from about age seven to ten and is strictly enforced at puberty. Coeducation in the school violated this basic attitude and was bitterly opposed by parents. Girls are unprepared for menstruation, which comes as a shock to most of them; girls will rarely confide in their mothers about menstruation or other intimate subjects.

In most inter-personal situations, Tepoztecans do not express affection in a demonstrative fashion and generally avoid bodily contact. Perhaps the major exception to this occurs in the mother-child relationship during the nursing period, when the child is held, fondled, and sometimes kissed. In courtship there is an increasing amount of demonstrativeness and physical contact, but kissing is still not customary.

Tepoztecans learned the Spanish custom of kissing the hand of the priest and of parents and godparents, but it never came easily to them and is now disappearing. The shaking of hands in greeting and departure and the typical Mexican double embrace are not generally practised in Tepoztlán and occur only among politicians and some of the more citified families. When Tepoztecans are drunk, this restraint is frequently relaxed, and male companions will walk arm in arm, and men may hug and even kiss their children and wives in the privacy of their homes.

It must be apparent from the preceding pages that Tepoztecans are not, on the whole, a very affectionate people and that means of expressing affection are limited. Normally, the Tepoztecan shows his affection for his children by hard work, good habits, and by providing them with the necessities of life; the child expresses his affection for his parents by obedience, respect, and diligence. Other inter-personal relations reveal good will or affection in so far as they fulfill the required reciprocal behavior. If these formal or practical qualities exist between people, Tepoztecans consider that they have a satisfactory relation with each other, and little else is demanded.

Between parents and children there is now a noticeable tendency, particularly among the younger generation, to express affection and to seek it in terms of greater demonstration of personal interest in each other, in their wants and needs and general welfare over and above life's bare necessities. This interest may be expressed by greater giving of food, clothing, toys, sweets, gifts, and now, by a willingness to make sacrifices for an education. Tepoztecans, particularly men,

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

593 833 take the initiative. It is the wife's duty to submit and the husband's prerogative to demand. It is believed that women have less *naturaleza*, that is, they are sexually weaker than men. Many women enter marriage with the belief that intercourse is painful. Husbands do not expect their wives to be sexually demanding or passionate, nor are these viewed as desirable traits in a wife. Husbands do not complain if their wives are not eager for or do not enjoy sexual intercourse. Frigidity is considered a source of security by the husband, for the assumption is that a frigid wife will not seek sexual contact elsewhere. A husband is more likely to suspect a wife who is passionate and may feel impelled to keep her under close surveillance. Women who are passionate and who "need" men are referred to as *loca* (crazy), and it is believed to be an abnormal condition frequently brought about by black magic. Some husbands deliberately refrain from arousing their wives sexually, because they do not want them to "get to like it too much."

One informant said he did not encourage his wife for fear that he would be unable to satisfy her when he was older. Another informant explained that he did not teach his wife what he knew about sexual techniques, because "that would be making a whore out of her." Few husbands give attention to the question of their wive's sexual satisfaction. In general, sexual play is a technique men reserve for the seduction of other women.

Much of the women's expressed attitudes toward sexual relations with their husbands dwell upon its negative aspects and reveal feelings of self-righteousness which border on martyrdom. Women speak of submitting to their husband's "abuse" because it is their obligation to do so. Most women emphasize their desire [842] to avoid sexual intercourse for a long time after giving birth, in order to avoid pregnancy. They complain of the difficulty of keeping their husbands away from them at this time, and they put it in terms of the husband not caring sufficiently for the nursing infant.

In discussing the sexual relations of husband and wife, it is important to consider [585] the fact that there is little privacy for couples even on the first night of marriage, and, as the family increases, there is less and less privacy. In view of the obligation [864] of Tepoztecan parents to protect their children from learning the facts of life, the prevailing sleeping arrangements must act as a strong inhibiting factor. We were unable to find a single informant who would admit the possibility of a child hearing his parents at night. Also, there is a strong block among adults in recalling ever having heard their parents in sexual intercourse. Tepoztecans value privacy, and, as the children grow up, they make some attempt to put the older ones in a separate room or shelter. Occasionally a couple will creep into the *temascal* (sweathouse), or go into the patio for additional privacy.

585 833 Account after account from informants indicate that most couples spent their first night with the husband's parents or other relatives sleeping in the same room. Many brides, particularly in the past, who married at thirteen and fourteen years of age and who scarcely knew their husbands before marriage, were in complete ignorance of sexual intercourse and were reluctant and fearful at first.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

chasing him. The boy ran terrified and screaming. In his haste he tripped over a stone and fell, causing much laughter among the grownups. Another boy of two is often deliberately frightened by his mother and relatives with worms, which make him scream in terror.

Lying and deception play an important part in parent-child relationships. Deception is used by parents and other adults as a technique in controlling children, and Tepoztecans would be at a loss without it in rearing their children. Mothers particularly tend to make and break promises easily and to trick their children into doing things. The use of little lies is so common as to be taken for granted, and children early become accustomed to it. The importance of deception in the relations between parents and children cannot be overemphasized, particularly in its effect upon the development of the character of Tepoztecans.

Deception of the parents on the part of Tepoztecan children becomes habitual at an early age. Lying is encouraged by the need to escape punishment, and punishable situations occur almost daily. Outright disobedience, which occurs often in the absence of the parents, must be covered up, as well as unavoidable but punishable acts, such as accidental losing or damaging of property or hurting a younger sibling. Children who are restricted as to when, where, and with whom they may play will lie to get more freedom. There is, of course, much deception concerning *novios* or sweethearts.

Parents view a child's lie primarily as a means of escaping difficult situations. There is little evidence of any moral indignation on their part, however. In punishing a child, the parents do not punish the lie as much as the misdeed the lie was meant to cover up. The child who lies is also viewed as an insubordinate child, and as such is resented by parents. Although children experience embarrassment when caught in a lie, there seems to be little guilt involved or shame in recounting the event to a third party.

The most important effect of the frequent use of deception is to cause mutual distrust between parents and children. Parents show a general distrust of their children and sometimes punish them for acts they deny having done, on the assumption that the children are lying. Much of parental behavior is rooted in the belief that a child tends to do wrong when he is not under the surveillance of an adult. Although fear is relied upon to control behavior, it is a form of remote control and as such is not entirely trustworthy.

Children's distrust of their parents is manifested primarily by withdrawal from the parents. Children generally do not confide private thoughts to their parents and gradually stop coming to them to seek information. The tendency of adults to give absurd or teasing answers further causes children to avoid asking questions. Questions on the part of children are generally not encouraged by parents and are frequently forbidden and punished. This is especially true of questions concerning sex and the body. The role of the parents in "keeping the eyes of the children closed" requires much use of deception, and children quickly learn not to ask questions about such matters nor to expect straightforward answers.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

593 857 [872] home. However, the majority of girls leave school after the third grade, or at eleven years of age. An occasional mother identifies with the daughter and expresses her own ambitions for schooling by allowing the girl to complete the elementary school course.

[594] [581] When a girl is at home, she is at the complete disposal of her mother. The mother is in a position to exploit the daughter and frequently does, especially the eldest daughter. Many girls marry to escape the hard work at home, and some of our case histories reveal the resentment daughters sometimes hold in retrospect toward their mothers. The following was told by a woman forty years of age:

> My mother was a widow. When I was nine we went to Tacubaya because it was the time of the Revolution. My mother borrowed three pesos and made *atole* and *tacos* and sold them. She did well the first year. Then she made meals for 190 factory workers. I made tortillas when I wasn't going to school. I went to school for four years and each morning I got up at 5:00 A.M. and ground corn, and made coffee for my mother, brothers, and sister. I never ate breakfast before school for lack of time. I also made the tortillas for the family for lunch and supper. My mother hired three women and a boy to help her at her work, and she made a lot of money. After four years she took us back to Tepoztlán because she didn't want us to grow up perverse. Then my three older brothers became teamsters and left the house at 4:00 or 5:00 A.M. every day. I had to get up at 1:00 A.M. to grind and make tortillas and *tacos* for them. After they left, I swept the patio and garden and fed the pigs and chickens. Then I made tortillas for my mother, grandmother, and sister. After breakfast I had to grind corn for the two or three pigs we always had and then again for the evening meal. I cut and sewed the clothes, washed and ironed, and did all the work of the house when I was fourteen. I also milked the cows. My mother was always a merchant. Since I was such a hard worker they began to ask for my hand but my mother and brothers did not want me to marry. I, poor thing, loved my mother and didn't understand how mean she was. She didn't love me because she made me work so hard when she had enough money to hire a maid. I took care of my mother, but when I was twenty I was fed up with it and eloped with my *novio*.

593 584 The mother is usually the daughter's chaperone when attending fiestas or when visiting. It is the mother's obligation to guard all grown daughters from having contact with boys. If she fails in this the mother will be subject to the father's anger. Many mothers complain that the necessity to "spy" on their daughters is a heavy burden. A mother who must leave her fifteen-year-old daughter at home with the little ones while she goes to the plaza is anxious over the possibility that the girl will speak to a boy in her absence. If the mother learns that her daughter has a *novio*, it is common for her to beat the girl without the father's knowledge and to keep the matter a secret. Although most mothers are harsh in their treatment of [848] a daughter who becomes pregnant before marriage, they are less so than the fathers and tend to be more forgiving.

593 864 Respect-relations between mother and daughter require an avoidance of intimate subjects. Mothers do not customarily prepare their daughters for menstruation or discuss the body or any aspect of sexual relations. And girls do not inform their

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

mothers when they first menstruate, nor do they seek information concerning pregnancy, birth, or marriage. If a girl becomes pregnant before marriage, she will consult a friend or *curandero* as to what to do. Even after marriage, the girl informs her mother-in-law rather than her mother of her pregnancy, and the mother takes an active role as adviser or assistant only if there is no mother-in-law to do so.

Mother-daughter relations are almost severed when the girl marries, particularly if the girl lives with her mother-in-law for several years. It is common for mothers to weep at a daughter's marriage because they are "losing her," and they miss her for a long time.

When a married daughter leaves her mother-in-law's home to live alone, close relations with her mother are generally resumed. Women do not expect financial assistance in their old age from their married daughters because it is "up to the son-in-law." But many married daughters help their mothers with money and corn without the knowledge of their husbands.

SIBLINGS

If the mother-child relationship is the strongest bond in Tepoztlán, that between siblings ranks next. Sibling solidarity is an ideal which parents try to instill in their children. "Take care of him, he is your brother" is often repeated. Nevertheless, sibling relations are often poor, especially in adulthood, and Tepoztecans themselves recognize the sharp gap between theory and practice. The ties between siblings are closest in childhood. Up to about age five or six, siblings are constant companions, and their relationship is but little affected by the differences in sex. Later, sex status becomes much more important, as the sister begins to identify with the mother and her work, and the brother with the father.

An older sister has a special role in caring for her younger siblings and often shows affection and devotion in bringing up the children. But some of the older daughters are rejecting this role in favor of continuing their education. Older brothers have a preferred status in the family and can demand respect and obedience from younger brothers and sisters. In the absence of the parents they take on the role of the father and may discipline their younger siblings. Even after marriage, younger siblings are expected to consult with the older brother about important decisions. But this pattern is rapidly disappearing.

The authority of older siblings over younger is tempered somewhat by the parents' insistence that the older sibling protect and even defer to the younger child. If a young child wants something belonging to an older brother or sister, the parents see to it that he receives it. If an older child is sitting in a chair wanted by a three-year-old, the older child is told to get up and give it to him. In one family a ten-year-old boy, who complained to his parents that his six-year-old brother woke up at night to steal his marbles, was told not to be selfish and to let the younger one have them. When two children quarrel, the older one is automatically blamed because "he is older and should know better," or both children are punished without the parents inquiring into the situation. It is significant that older children never

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

842 Abor-
tion, although very secretive, is not uncommon, and it is said that many women
[847] take medicine to make themselves sterile.

In sharp contrast to women, men in Tepoztlán prefer large families and are outspoken in their desire to have many sons to help them. In many husband-wife
[593] relations there is an underlying struggle in which the wife tries to limit the number of pregnancies against the protests of her husband. If conception does not take place within a reasonable length of time, husbands may suspect their wives of taking
[586] medicine to prevent it. Failure to conceive may be sufficient cause for abandonment, and in the few cases in which women were known to have prayed for a child the motive almost always was to please the husband. Men show little interest in learning methods of birth control, and it is highly improbable that many husbands would practice it or permit their wives to.

The differences in the attitudes of men and women toward having children stem
[582] from several factors. Men often marry at a more mature age and when they feel
[581] ready for marriage, but girls marry quite young, and often as a result of pressure from their suitors or their parents or because of pregnancy. Men frequently marry for the purpose of raising a family; women, except when they are pregnant, usually marry for motives entirely unrelated to having children. Unlike women, who be-
[851] come more dependent upon their mother-in-law and husband at the birth of a
[562] child, men acquire a new independence and a more respected status as *padre de*
[843] *familia*. Becoming a mother does not in itself improve a woman's status, nor is there any perceptible change in the treatment of wives during pregnancy. As one informant put it, "A good husband will continue to be good when his wife is pregnant, and a bad one will continue to beat her."

The strict division of labor in Tepoztecan homes, in which the burden of the
[462] care of the children in sickness and in health falls upon the mother, is often given
[594] as an explanation of the different attitudes of men and women toward having children. "It makes no difference to the men how many children there are. It is the wife who has to see that there is enough for all."

842 Motherhood is not glorified in Tepoztlán. The prevailing prudishness toward
155 sex, as well as the reciprocal respect-relations between parents and children, results
● 864 in the avoidance of the subject. Most Tepoztecan girls grow up in an atmosphere in which negative attitudes of fear and shame toward motherhood, pregnancy, and even marriage have more opportunity of developing than positive ones. Despite the early assumption of the care of small children and household duties, there is an absence of positive psychological preparation in the training of young girls for the acceptance of motherhood. This is reenforced by the martyr-like attitude of their own mothers toward husbands and children.

842 *PREGNANCY*

[195] The most common expression to describe pregnancy is "to become ill with child."
[843] Sterility (*yomitztili*) is thought to be due to "cold" in the womb,[2] and massages
[171]

[2] Sterility is also explained by "cold" in Chan Kom. *Ibid.* p. 181.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

with warm oil of rosemary and violet are given to "heat" the womb. A woman who wishes to prevent conception takes "cold" medicines. A woman who wishes a child and cannot conceive may visit the Virgins of Chalma or Tlaltenango, who are believed to have special powers to grant the desire for children. There is a belief that if conception occurs during the full moon, the child will be strong, and married couples sometimes plan to have intercourse during this time.

The most common symptom of pregnancy is the cessation of menstruation. This is almost always true of a first pregnancy, but may not hold for subsequent pregnancies. Menstruation often does not occur for as long as one or two years after giving birth to a child. Since many women conceive during this period, they do not know that they are pregnant until they feel movement or other symptoms, such as nausea. Sometimes women do not become aware of pregnancy because they continue to menstruate for two or three months after conception. This condition is attributed to *los aires* or to weakness of the back

When Tepoztecan girls married at a younger age than they do now, they were often ignorant of the signs of pregnancy. They would report the cessation of menstruation to the mother-in-law, who would explain its meaning. The girl's own mother would be advised, but the respect-relations and sense of shame between mother and daughter prevented much direct discussion. The young pregnant wife becomes dependent for advice and care upon her mother-in-law, who may keep the girl's mother informed if she wishes to do so. In later pregnancies, mothers and daughters are generally less inhibited in their behavior toward each other.

Pregnant women make every effort to conceal their condition by carefully covering themselves with their *rebozos*, both at home and in the street. When the pregnancy becomes very obvious, women keep to their homes and the more "careful" mothers remain seated as much as possible, so that their children will not take note of their condition. Women who are careless about concealing their condition are looked down upon. City women who walk in the street without *rebozos* to hide their pregnancy are regarded as particularly shameless. Once a city woman who did not wear a *rebozo* came to live in Tepoztlán during her pregnancy, but left shortly because no one would speak to her. Tepoztecans had ostracized her because she was "opening the eyes of their children." More recently Tepoztecans were aroused by the fact that one of the schoolteachers continued to attend school, although in an advanced stage of pregnancy. The school director was chastized, and the teacher was asked to resign.

When a woman knows she is pregnant she informs her mother-in law, if residence is patrilocal, or her husband, and arrangements are made to hire a midwife. The cost of the midwife has risen, from about ten pesos in 1943 to about twenty pesos in 1948. Before the Revolution, midwives in Tepoztlán received as little as one and two pesos. The rise in price reflects the increasing urbanization of Tepoztlán, as well as the general rise in cost of living in recent years.[3]

[3] In Mitla, in the 1930's, midwives were paid 75 centavos for delivering a girl and one peso for a boy. See Parsons, *Mitla*, p. 78. In Tzintzuntzan, midwives received from 3 to 7 pesos in

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

753 862 [843] [755] body, diarrhea, loss of appetite and weight, pallor, and weakness. In fact, almost any symptom or illness during this time is called *chipilez*. It is said that husbands become sleepy and do not want to work. A husband can be cured by wearing a strip of his wife's skirt around his neck.

In the case of children, there is no known cure, and mothers try to comfort the child with more attention. Grandmothers often advise against too much kissing and embracing of the child when he is *chipil* because it "makes the burden heavier." Indeed, the greater attention required by the sick child makes more difficult his later adjustment to the withdrawal of the mother at the birth of the next baby. It [843] is said by some that if a child is very *chipil*, the next baby will be of the opposite sex, and if the child is not very ill, the next baby will be of the same sex.

[165] Sometimes a *chipil* child dies before the birth of the next child, and several families attribute as many as four or five deaths of children to *chipilez*. From the symptoms and number of deaths, and from the obvious relation to weaning, it is highly probable that many cases of *chipilez* are due to nutritional deficiencies or intestinal parasites. Most children and all husbands recover at the birth of the new baby, for, it is said, "Tlayish qua mak awa," (the weight is lifted).

EARLY CHILDHOOD

855 The transition from infancy to childhood is characterized by the breaking of the close ties between the mother and the youngest child. This process begins at weaning and generally culminates with the birth of the next sibling. As we have seen, in this interval of from two to four months, most children become *chipil*, losing their symptoms after the birth of the baby. Other children continue to be ill, sometimes for several months or even years. This illness reflects the widespread 593 sibling rivalry which exists among children.

855 Children in Tepoztlán are not prepared for the arrival of a new sibling. When delivery is expected, the children of the house are sent to sleep with the grandmother or a relative or neighbor. When they return home the next morning they [864] are told their parents have bought a new baby, and they are shown their new brother or sister. The initial reaction of the children may be one of pleasure, curiosity, or apprehension, the latter particularly on the part of the younger children. Older girls often express displeasure, and some even scold their mothers for buying a new child because the burden of raising it usually falls upon them. A girl of thirteen said to her mother after the birth of another child, "You cannot even buy us good food or shoes. Why did you buy another child?"

855 865 Jealousy and hostility on the part of the other children, particularly the younger ones, are so common as to be considered inevitable and normal. Children often call the baby names and, if not watched, may slap, pinch, or throw him on the ground. Small children, too, scold their mother for buying the infant and beg her to return him. A mother said that her four-year-old son used to stand at the gate and call to passers-by to take away his little sister. Jealous children are often regarded with amusement by adults, but striking the infant or mother in jealousy is quickly

2;Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

boy still sleeping with his grandmother or older sister, to whom he had been transferred at the birth of another child. In the only case we have of sexual intercourse between children, a girl of eight and a boy of six, the boy said he had learned it from his older sister with whom he shared a *petate* at night.

Enuresis is very common up to the age of five and is not infrequent in boys and girls of seven. It is not considered very much of a problem, but children are sometimes scolded and shamed for doing it. Some parents attempt to curb enuresis by insisting that the children urinate before going to sleep. Children are urged to go to the patio during the night, but parents do not get up to remind them or take them. Although urine tends to pulverize the straw of the *petate*, so that eventually it must be replaced, parents do not express annoyance or concern over this. The *petates* are washed in the morning or merely set in the sun to dry. Children up to the age of seven seldom sleep on a mattress, because of enuresis.

The transition from infancy to childhood is also characterized by less care concerning cleanliness. In general, the cleanest children in Tepoztlán are infants and school children. Children between the ages of two and six are often dirty and unkempt. In more acculturated families there is greater emphasis on cleanliness. Most children are bathed and have their clothing changed once a week, usually on Sunday. In a few families children may be bathed and changed every three or five days. These families also exhort their children to wash their face and hands before eating, but most children receive no training in this until they go to school. Poorer families, which are in the majority, do not wash and change clothes often, as a matter of economy; soap is expensive, and clothing, which is scrubbed on stones, tends to wear out more quickly with frequent washings. In the past, because of greater poverty, people washed and changed clothes once in fifteen days.

Children are bathed in warm water by the mother or older sister, up to the age of seven or eight. They stand for the bath, and their bodies and hair are scrubbed with soap and a pad of rough *ixtle*. The water is poured over their heads, and the soap gets in their eyes. Children do not appear to enjoy the bath as infants do and show much fear of the water. In families in which the children early acquire a sense of shame (usually the more acculturated families), boys of five may refuse to be bathed by their mothers and will accompany their elder brothers to the ravine. Girls exhibit shame earlier than boys, concerning nudity. I saw a ten-year-old boy, stark naked in the patio, being bathed by his grandmother. He seemed a little concerned about hiding his genitals but otherwise showed no embarrassment. This situation, which is unusual in the village, was explained by the fact that the boy was an only child and the favorite of his grandmother, who had bathed him from infancy.

Except during the bath, children are never seen without clothes. Boys who are not yet toilet trained sometimes go without pants, but this is very rare over age five. On the whole, nakedness or incomplete dress is associated with poverty, neglect, and immorality. One of the major reasons given for keeping children fully clothed is to prevent masturbation.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

Masturbation is not tolerated at any age and is swiftly punished. Punishment consists of slapping the hands, beating, shaming, and frightening. One boy of five was severely beaten with a rope by his father without explanation because the latter saw the boy holding his penis. One woman threw stones at her eight-year-old daughter and called her names when she saw her examining her genitals while urinating. Children who show interest in their body are *viciosa* or *maliciosa* and are called names, such as *cochino* (pig) and *puerco* (hog). Parents who fail to correct their children are called *imoral* or *indecente*. Careful parents keep their children off the streets for fear that they might learn masturbation from their friends. Although occasionally an incorrigible boy may be seen to masturbate surreptitiously, with his hands in his pockets, it is rare to see a child touching his genitals. If masturbation occurs it is secretive.

Between the ages of two and five, children are free to devote themselves entirely to play. Small children are limited, for the most part, to playing in the patio or corral. The only time they are seen in the streets is when they are accompanied by some older member of the family. (See Fig. 54.) They play alone or more usually

Fig. 54. Mother and child.

with brothers and sisters or cousins or perhaps neighbors, whose ages range from five to ten. Older children are required by the parents to play with their younger brothers or sisters, so that it is rare for the latter to be shut out of play. The older children are also expected to keep the younger ones contented and are responsible for their safety. As during infancy, a cry or complaint to the parents on the part of the youngest child usually brings scoldings or punishment down upon the older children. Small children frequently receive rough treatment during play, both intentionally and unintentionally, and are sometimes bribed by the older children

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

not to inform the parents. In a few cases the younger child is the object of much hostility and rivalry on the part of his older siblings, and is subject to surreptitious abuse. In one case a three-year-old girl was hit and mistreated so often by her brothers and sisters, that, to protect her, her parents had to send her to stay with her grandmother.

Small children begin, at first in a passive way, to join the games of the older children as soon as they are able to understand what to do. Often the two-, three-, or four-year-old plays the part of the baby and is merely carried about, put to sleep, or fed in play. It is when they play at house, school, *compadres*, fiesta, baptism, musician, funeral, and other games imitating adult behavior, that the small child begins to learn the customs of the culture. Girls of five often beg for a little corn to grind and make into tortillas, or for a *rebozo* in which to wrap a rag doll. Boys of five imitate older boys' games, such as spinning tops or playing marbles. Other toys are rarely made or bought for children of this age group, and generally only favored children receive them. The majority of children content themselves with playing with sticks, stones, leaves, flowers, corncobs, etc. Pencils, crayons, and writing paper are considered too valuable for children to play with, and preschool children have very little experience with these articles, to say nothing of books and pictures.

It is difficult to get information concerning sex play of children. Questions about sex play of children received a blanket denial from parents, who maintained that their children are innocent and know nothing of life. But it is clear from the life stories we have taken that children have notions about sex, and sex play does occur secretively, particularly in playing house and at being *novios*. Girls of ten frequently teach smaller boys what to do.

For the most part children between two and four years of age are kept at home if there is someone to take care of them, because they are often too heavy to carry long distances and cannot walk well over the hilly, stone-paved streets. At four or five years, girls and boys often accompany their mothers to the plaza and may carry the can of corn or *nixtamal*. Some mothers report that their children are extremely timid when they first begin to go visiting or marketing, and nervous habits such as chewing at their clothing begin at that time.

2;Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

THE ADOLESCENT GIRL

882 Although a girl becomes a *señorita* at fifteen, adolescence may be said to begin at twelve or thirteen. At this age girls are withdrawn from school to stay at home and work with the mother. They are expected to give up friends and habits of play and to devote themselves to caring for younger siblings and doing household chores. Some girls of this age are reluctant to discontinue their former activities and receive a good deal of punishment before they resign themselves to it.

At a girl's fifteenth birthday, her parents prepare her for marriage by presenting her with a pair of shoes for holidays, a bright colored dress and apron, and perhaps a pair of silver or gold earrings. Even very poor parents make an effort to give their daughter new clothing to attract a husband. Girls are very pleased by this and pay much attention to their appearance. They generally look better groomed than either *niñas* or married women. Despite the new clothes and other finery, some girls are 883 reluctant to become *señoritas* because they have even less freedom and are expected to do more work at home. They must now do everything that a married woman does, wash and iron the heavier clothes, as well as the badly soiled ones, sew, grind corn, make larger tortillas, grind coffee, cook all the food eaten by the family, learn to make *mole* and prepare fiesta dishes, and also sometimes go for water. In addition the girls are given almost entire care of their younger brothers and sisters. The girls are held responsible if the children are hurt, become ill, or are naughty. Usually the older girls are permitted to punish their charges lightly and to send them on errands, but they do not have full authority, even when the mother is not at home. In general the elder girls are expected to defer to the younger ones and to be protective and compliant. If a younger brother or sister complains to the mother about the older girl, she may be punished.

The contrast between the girls who stay at home and those who continue going to school is striking. The educated girl usually does very little housework, assisting only with the lighter tasks. She has more leisure time, more friends, and is generally less restricted by her parents. Even if she does no professional work after completion of school, she automatically enjoys a higher status than do her less educated [582] peers. These girls tend to marry late because of the difficulty of finding a suitable husband. Girls who continue to go to school until fifteen years of age or longer are a particular source of apprehension to their parents. As a precaution, and at much expenditure of time and money, girls who attend school out of town are taken to and from school by one of the parents or an elder brother on week-ends or holidays.

After menstruation occurs, the mother becomes more strict in her surveillance of 864 her daughter. The most emphatic restriction and discipline are applied to the 584 adolescent girl in her relations with boys. She is warned over and over that the worst thing she could do is speak to a boy or pay attention to anything he might say to her. She is told that boys are dangerous and often the cause of disgrace, and that only crazy or "bad" girls have anything to do with them before marriage. Girls are warned not to bring shame to the parents and they are threatened with severe punishment. Girls are so guarded that a delay in returning from an errand may

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

be cause for a sharp scolding or slap. Ideally, the girl is not supposed to leave the house unaccompanied, though expediency frequently demands that she does. 584 864

The responsibility of guarding the chastity and reputation of one or more daughters of marriageable age is often felt to be a burden by the mother. One mother said that she wished her fifteen-year-old daughter would marry soon because it was inconvenient to "spy" on her all the time. [836]

For most girls, the appearance of the first menses is a traumatic experience. Many fear it signifies that they are no longer virgins, others that they have an internal lesion and will bleed to death. Most girls associate it with something shameful, dirty, and even punishable, and keep it secret from parents and sisters. A very much frightened girl sometimes seeks reassurance by confiding in her grandmother or in a friend. Girls who are still in school at an age when there is interest in such matters generally learn some of the facts of menstruation from other girls. There is a tendency for more educated girls to feel less guilt and be less secretive about menstruation both in school and at home, but almost all girls express shame and disgust in connection with it. 881

When girls married before puberty, it was widely believed that menstruation was caused by sexual intercourse. When marriages began to take place after puberty, this belief broke down and is no longer held by most people, but it still persists among some. For example, an uncle, who accidentally became aware that his fifteen-year-old niece was menstruating, denounced the girl as not being a virgin and scolded her mother for not guarding her. [833] [178]

The grandmother, or the mother when she learns of it, gives the girl advice on proper care during menstruation. Most warn against bathing or washing the feet or eating "cold" foods, such as pork, avocado, beans, and lemon, since these are believed to stop the flow. Menstruation is expected to last three days, and the flow is generally sparse, requiring only the wearing of an extra pair of underdrawers. If the flow is longer than three or four days, there is some concern over it, and herb medicines are usually taken. [515] [262]

The adjustment of the adolescent girl to her situation at home varies considerably. In large part it depends upon the girl's relations with the mother, since it is with her that there is most contact. The close relationship of the adolescent girl with her mother is recent in Tepoztlán, for child marriage and patrilocal residence in past years effectively severed the mother-daughter tie. The young daughter in law was looked upon as the main source of assistance for the mother. Now it is the grown daughter who partially fills this role. Her work is obligatory, "Why then do we rear children except to help us?" The mother of a grown girl is considered fortunate because "now she has someone to work for her." 593 883 [178]

Many of the attitudes of the mother-in-law toward the daughter-in-law have been carried over to the daughter. There is a tendency for mothers to "retire" from most of the heavy household duties and to shift the major burden of the household upon the daughters, assuming the role of director rather than partner. Many mothers are critical, demanding, and querulous with their daughters and scold [594]